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II. PHILANTHROPY, CHARITIES AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Report of Second Conference of Jewish Charities.—The recently published report of the Second Conference of Jewish Charities is interesting because of the subjects discussed, and because the men and women who took part in the discussions were representative of the best Jewish thought of the country. The following citations present some of the important facts contained in the report:

Tuberculosis. Within the last few years a great wave of interest in this subject has spread over the entire civilized world. While we become greatly excited by occasional outbreaks of smallpox or yellow fever, we lose sight of the fact that tuberculosis kills one out of every eight persons who die. Entirely disregarding the great misery attendant upon this long-drawn-out disease, we cannot in figures express the enormous economic waste resultant from it. In order to place one phase of the question before you, I have asked the directors of the various Jewish orphan asylums to inform me what proportion of their children have become orphans because of the death of either parent from consumption. The reports from the institutions which have such records are truly startling. The Cleveland Orphan Asylum reports 52 per cent orphaned by the death of their parents of consumption, and further that 40 per cent of the surviving parents are consumptive. One would be tempted to doubt these terrible figures if they were not vouched for by so careful an observer as Dr. Wolfenstein. The San Francisco Orphan Asylum reports 28½ per cent, the Rochester Asylum 20 per cent, the Atlanta Asylum 12 per cent, the New Orleans Asylum 25 per cent, Leopold Morse Home 13 per cent, Chicago Orphan Asylum 23 per cent, the Philadelphia Orphan Asylum 5 per cent. Unfortunately, the two large New York institutions keep no records bearing on this subject. It may be safely said that 20 per cent of the very large expenditures of orphan asylums are due to consumption of the parents. The conditions under which many of our poor live, especially in the larger cities, are such as to greatly favor the spread of the disease. It behooves us, therefore, both from the standpoint of humanity and from purely economic considerations, to make strenuous efforts to combat this plague. The work is far too great to be handled entirely by private philanthropy. All Jews should therefore work earnestly in originating, fostering and supporting movements for the establishment of state sanatoria, such as are already in existence in Massachusetts and other states. Consumption is curable in a large proportion of incipient cases, and no monetary investment by any state will bring such large and quick returns in decreased expense in other directions.

To no class of our people is this matter of greater importance than to our newly arrived immigrants. Coming in great numbers to this country from the small agricultural towns of Europe, and settling, as the large proportion of them do, in the crowded tenements of the large cities, the close quarters, the hard work, insufficiency of food and of fresh air, make them particularly susceptible to the disease. But this is but one phase of the overwhelming immigrant question. Probably 60 per cent of our immigrants settle in New York.

It is calculated that there are now 550,000 Jews in Greater New York. During the past year the United Hebrew Charities of that city assisted 55,000 persons, exclusive of those assisted by the numerous other relief organizations of that overburdened city. And this in prosperous times! What may we expect in times of industrial depression? From every point of view, financial, physical, moral, and, unfortunately, especially from the moral view, this situation is most alarming. It is in no sense a local question—it is national.¹

The Federation of Jewish Charities in Chicago. We had been collecting in Chicago (prior to 1900) about \$110,000 a year, by contributions to membership in the various charitable organizations; by our annual charity ball, and by numerous ticket-selling affairs throughout the year, and festivals and entertainments of all kinds. Our people were not satisfied. The retail merchants particularly complained of the innumerable requests to buy tickets, which they could not refuse, and their unwillingness was not due to any unwillingness to pay the money, but to the annoyance to which they were subjected.

Then, again, the amount raised was not sufficient to meet the demand. Nearly every institution had an annually increasing deficit, until, in 1898, we were told to go ahead with a huge effort, and we raised some \$90,000 or \$100,000, and with that we were able to meet the deficit that then existed in the various charitable organizations. But we knew we were going to begin over again, that our deficits were going to pile up, unless something else was done, and therefore, during the year of 1899, a plan of federating all the charities was talked about.

The result was that in two months' time we had \$100,000, and we then decided to call a meeting and organize. On the day of the organization, just three months after the original meeting, we had \$116,000, subscribed by some 850 people. Our year began May 1, 1900, and at the close of that year we had received subscriptions of \$135,000. That was an increase over the largest amount that had been collected in any former year, as we estimated it, of at least \$25,000. It was sufficient to supply all the demands that were made upon us.

The trouble and bother of soliciting subscriptions and collecting them is one of the things that has kept a number of good men and women from going on the various charity boards. That is a matter of the past. The charity boards of the city expect to do the work of the organizations, and expect to be supplied with the financial means necessary to carry on their work. The relief from that which was their greatest burden is now a very great incentive to their accepting a position on the board.

The entire expense of administering the Jewish federation, of soliciting subscriptions, collecting subscriptions, and attending to our office work has been less than \$3,000 a year. We did not get \$135,000 from 800 subscribers, but from 1,700 subscribers, and we got over \$100,000 from 450 subscribers, the balance from the rest.²

¹Statement by Max Senior, president of Conference of Jewish Charities.

²Statement by Julian W. Mack, Associated Charities of Chicago.

Jewish Agriculturists. The work of the Baron de Hirsch Fund and of William Kahn, manager Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society of New York, has always been carefully gauged, so as to avoid pauperization of any kind, and special pains are taken to develop in our proteges a spirit of independent Americanism, to teach them business principles and the consciousness of moral and financial obligations. It may be estimated that there are 1,000 Jewish farmers in the United States. Our society has hitherto practically confined its assistance to those cases in which the applicant had some means of his own, because the experience of many years had strongly tended to show that Jewish would-be farmers who started farming entirely on means furnished by charity usually abandoned their undertaking. Lately, however, our society has been discussing and is now working out a plan by which Jewish families without means, who show an inclination for farming life, can be given a practical trial extending over a year or so, during which time they will be trained in American farming methods, and at the same time be enabled to make a living, and at the expiration of which trial-period this society would give those who have been found worthy and fit, a chance to go farming on their own land.³

The Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society of America rejects the plan both of colonization *en masse* and of industrial settlement. Farming in the strictest and narrowest sense of the term, and the placing of individual Jewish families in any part of the United States or in the Dominion of Canada among experienced farmers of other denominations, is the society's endeavor.

The religious side of the question has been a stumbling-block of no mean proportions in the way of bringing the Jew to farming. The contention has been that the Jew is religiously so constituted that he cannot forego the advantages of the religious community, and, in order that he may be able to apply himself to agriculture, the congregation must go along with him to the farm. This led to colonization *en masse*, which, for obvious reasons, has proven, if not a complete failure, very difficult and impracticable. The position taken by the Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society that the Jew, if he is to be made a successful farmer, must be placed among experienced non-Jewish farmers and left to work out his destiny by himself, has, on the other hand, proven to be the correct stand. For the present, at least, and until there shall be practical, experienced Jewish farmers, who, indirectly, shall lead the inexperienced newcomers, this plan of the society seems to be the only feasible one. It has also proven to be of no damaging effect as far as the religious life and habit of the Jew are concerned.⁴

Roumanian Laws Against the Jews.—The law of the Roumanian government aimed against the Jews, forbids every foreigner to exercise any trade or profession in Roumania unless the same right is granted to Roumanians resident in his country. As is well known, the Jews, although their ancestors have lived for many centuries in Roumania, are legally treated as strangers.

³ Statement by William Kahn, manager Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society, New York.

⁴ Statement by Rabbi A. R. Levy, president Jewish Agricultural Aid Society of America, Chicago.

While paying higher taxes and contributing a greater proportion to the military service than their Gentile neighbors, they are not accorded the rights of citizenship, and comparatively only a handful of our co-religionists have been naturalized since the treaty of Berlin in 1878, when Roumania obtained her independence. The great majority of the 360,000 Jews have legally remained foreigners, and are being treated worse than foreigners; for, while a foreigner, if ill treated, can claim the protection of his native country, the Jew cannot, because he has no country of his own. And it was in order to further oppress and persecute the Jews that this iniquitous law was passed. The Jews, not having a country of their own, cannot prove, as the law requires, that their government accords to Roumanians rights equivalent to those they are entitled to; hence they will be prohibited from engaging in any trade or occupation by which they can earn a livelihood. The result can be easily foreseen, and it is felt by all who are familiar with the state of affairs that nothing but emigration or starvation is left for the Jews of Roumania. The United States is so far the only refuge for our poor brethren, for no country in Europe is desirous of increasing its Jewish population.⁵

The Migration of the Jews to the United States from southeastern Europe was treated in a most interesting manner at the recent Conference of Jewish Charities, held in Atlantic City, N. J., by Leo N. Levi, president Independent Order B'nai B'rith, and Cyrus Sulzberger, director of the United Hebrew Charities. Mr. Levi said: "The movement has been continuous. It has been more acute at some periods than at others, but it has been a steady stream and no one can tell when that stream will be stopped unless the source is exhausted. It is no light thing in the history of so important a people as the Jews to contemplate the complete transference of the balance of population from one hemisphere to another. The influx of Jews to this country during the past twenty-one or twenty-two years has been at the rate of 50,000 per annum and the total Jewish population of the world is variously estimated at from eight to eleven millions. As long as the countries of southeastern Europe, or anywhere else, persecute the Jews because they are Jews and deny them the right to make a living because they are Jews, these Jews are going to move out of the country in which they were born. They have been coming to the United States for more than twenty years. Their coming has been looked upon with fear and trembling, but they have come nevertheless. The predicted untold disasters of twenty years ago, because of the influx of Russian Jews, have been refuted by the developments of the last two decades; and the refugees of twenty years ago are, to-day, the artisans, manufacturers and merchants and the bone and sinew of the Jewish part of this country. Statistics show that of a million who came to this country in twenty years, probably 90 per cent came into the port of New York. Statistics also show that over 60 per cent of those who arrive, remain in New York. The Jewish population of New York may be divided into three parts Russian and allied races to one part American and German Jew. That is to say, 350,000 to 120,000."

⁵ Statement of Moses Pels, of Baltimore.

Mr. Sulzberger said in part: "Very few, even among the Jewish charities, know about the Ghetto or what 'the Ghetto' means. It lies between Houston and Henry streets and the Bowery and East River, covering about one square mile and containing as many people as the city of Detroit. These people are packed like raisins in layers, and packed down hard in order to make plenty of room for those who are to be packed on top. Imagine putting 300,000 people into one square mile. A large number of Roumanians come to New York, but shall we sentence them to the Ghetto when we know what five years in the Ghetto means? We know that ten years in the Ghetto means imprisonment for life, because that is practically the end of the term."

The Second Annual Report of the Massachusetts Prison Commission recommends the extension of the indeterminate sentence to the reformatory for women. It states that the probation law has become an exceedingly useful adjunct to the work of the courts and that its results have amply justified the experiment of 1891, when the law became generally operative.

The Pennsylvania Children's Aid Society, at the end of twenty-one years of excellent work, has published a most interesting report. During the year 1902 the society cared for 1,076 children. It pays the board and other necessary expenses of children placed in individual homes, except in cases, which are many, where children ingratiate themselves into the household favor to such an extent that, rather than lose the child, he is kept without compensation. The children are still visited and come under the constant supervision of the society. The death-rate of the society's charges is remarkably low and is estimated at one per cent, while in large orphan asylums it often reaches 50 or 60 per cent. The bureau of information helps, on an average, twenty cases a day. The society encourages mothers to take homes with their children and, in a large number of cases, reunites families. This organization receives state as well as private aid and does the whole work of a state child-caring society.

"Since June 14, 1901, when the juvenile court act went into effect, the society has received by commitment from the judges 161 children. These children were received under the following charges: Burglary, 3; larceny, 28; till tapping, 1; malicious mischief, 2; vagrancy, 4; assault and battery, 2; incorrigible, 34; runaways, 6; abandoned, 3; delinquency, 1; homeless, 1; neglected, 76. All were placed in homes in the country, put into school and made subject to the rules of the society. Of this number 149 have responded to the society's methods and are doing well. The society acted for eighteen months as a house of detention and cared for 795 children held for trial under bail, besides supporting most of the time three probation officers."

The Virginia Conference of Charities and Corrections held its annual meeting in February. The report of Dr. J. M. Pilcher on the condition of the prisons and almshouses in the state shows that there is great need of reform. Dr. Frederick H. Wines made an able and instructive address on the subject of state supervision. Dr. Wines favored a state board of charities. He said in part, "A state board of charities should be merely supervisory, having

power to inspect the eleemosynary institutions of the state and make criticisms and recommendations. Many other states have adopted this plan which we believe originated in Massachusetts, and such boards long since passed beyond the experimental stage. Some few states have state boards of control, but the objection to them is that, having large patronage, they are apt to become part and parcel of the political machine, and, instead of turning on the light and exposing faults, the tendency under such conditions is to cover up and conceal."

The New Jersey Conference of Charities and Corrections held its second annual meeting in the assembly chamber of the State House, Trenton, on February 19 and 20. The attendance was large and great interest was manifested. Mrs. Emily E. Williamson, the president, presided. State supervision was the subject considered at one session and was ably handled by Charlton T. Lewis, LL. D., a large number taking part in the discussion. Governor Murphy was present at the afternoon meeting and made an address of welcome at the evening session. The Hon. Benjamin F. Lee, of Trenton, was elected president for the ensuing year.

The Annual Report of the Ohio State Board of Charities has just been issued. The attention of the governor and legislature is called to the urgent need and importance of the proper care and treatment of deformed and crippled children. The board suggests that one institution be provided for the many thousands who can be cured by proper surgical and medical care. The report shows that, in addition to the alleviation of great suffering, this care will save the state much money. It also recommends probation for misdemeanants who go to the workhouse. The parole of prisoners from workhouses is now allowed by law.

The Joint Committee of the Tennessee Legislature has made an exhaustive report upon the government of the state institutions and existing conditions in these institutions. It is claimed that too much money is expended in paying the officials, that the food is bad in many of the institutions, and that the amount of whiskey consumed in one of the insane hospitals should be restricted. The report commends the management of, and conditions in, the State Industrial School, and recommends the abolishment of the colored department. In explanation, it says, "We do not believe it is proper to connect the white and colored departments." The management of the white and colored schools for deaf mutes is also commended.

Regulation of Retail Liquor Trade in the United Kingdom.—For over ten years the temperance question has been debated in Parliament, on the platform, in the pulpit and in the press. The new act, passed in 1902, practically gives licensing justices unlimited discretion, both as to license renewals and as to the granting of new licenses. Moreover, the justices can control the structure of licensed premises. It provides that before justices grant new licenses, they shall have plans of the premises to be licensed before them; that no material structural alterations shall be made without the consent of the justices; and that proper structural alterations may be made a condition of the renewal of a license. It is also provided that an habitual drunkard may be "posted" and public-house keepers warned thereof, after which it becomes

an offence for them knowingly to serve him. Habitual drunkenness is also made a ground for marital separation.

The extreme temperance advocates contend that a publican is not entitled to any compensation for his license. However, the general sentiment in England is in favor of some form of compensation, but no unity of agreement has yet been reached as to what form it should take. In 1891 the House of Commons, by a large majority, passed a resolution that: "Provided adequate compensation be given, this house is of opinion that a large reduction in the number of houses in England licensed for the sale of intoxicating liquors is desirable."

In 1899 the royal commission on the licensing laws reported that: "To suppress a proportion of the licenses without compensation, is to inflict very material losses on one set of licensees, arbitrarily selected, and to benefit the remainder by the elimination of their rivals. "It is therefore recommended as its scheme, compensation 'equivalent to the fair intrinsic selling value of the license and good-will' to be derived from the trade itself upon the basis of the declared value of the license and good-will. This sum was to be augmented by contributions from hotels, restaurants, clubs and new licenses."

At the last general election, the question of compensation was put to the test, and out of 670 members of the House of Commons, 470 were favorable to compensation, 170 were opposed to it, and 30 were doubtful. The discretion as to the ratio of saloons to the population is left to the justices entirely, but they have no power to award compensation for any losses they inflict. In Birmingham, Mr. Arthur Chamberlain formed a joint committee of justices and brewers, to further his scheme of buying out licenses. His scheme has involved a sort of compensation, which has been very successful, and has resulted in the surrender of fifty licenses. A new scheme is now being tried elsewhere, of extinguishing licenses by which the brewer gets nothing but the opportunity of saying whether he can compress his trade into a smaller number of houses. The trade journals characterize this as a "kind of bargaining which tends to destroy the judicial character of the bench."

The question as to whether the diminishing of competition also diminishes drunkenness, is apparently a matter of opinion. The royal commission included in its report, the criminal statistics of the Royal Statistical Society for 1896, to show that there is apparently no relation between the number of licenses and the amount of drunkenness. In the district where licenses are most thickly distributed (one to a population of 164) the average drunkenness was 492 to population of 100,000. This district comprised Buckingham, Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Isle of Ely, Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Shropshire and Staffordshire. In the district where licenses were most thinly distributed (one to population of 276) the average drunkenness was 892 to population of 100,000. This district comprised Cheshire, Cornwall, Devonshire, Durham, Northumberland, Lancashire and Glamorgan.

An interesting discussion is also taking place as to whether there is any direct relation between ill-ventilated, insanitary public houses and drunkenness. In the United States it seems to be generally taken for granted that the attractiveness and airiness of a saloon encourages drinking. It is interest-

ing to note that careful observers in England are of a different opinion. For example, Mr. Arthur Chamberlain, who is the chairman of the Birmingham licensing justices, declares that "it is a mistake to suppose that big houses were the cause of drinking. The largest amount of drinking was going on in the low, small, hot, secret houses, and that in houses where there was light, air and ventilation there was less tendency to sit and consume drink injuriously—and that it was to the general interests of the town to promote and encourage and possibly even order, an increase in the size of the places already existing." He recommended that every public room used for drinking purposes should have an area of not less than 150 square feet, and that it should be at least ten feet six inches in height.

He also advocated the effect of real severity in dealing with drunkards. "Fining people and speaking to them in a fatherly way had gone on for ten years without any benefit."

He proposed that every license holder in Birmingham should be taxed for the purpose of accumulating a fund in order to bear the cost of the surrender scheme. The income for the sale of drink in Birmingham was computed moderately at three millions sterling. A tax raising £60,000 to £100,000 a year for a very few years would produce a cash compensation enough to enable the trade to compensate one another.

The chancellor of the exchequer in answer to a question of a member of Parliament, said recently that the duty payable on publicans' licenses might be increased, and the proceeds of the increase applied for compensating those whose licenses had been retired, but he would not promise any legislation this session. The Licensed Victualers' Central Protection Society opposes this, and contends that the compensation fund shall come out of indirect taxation. The society repudiates the idea that one licensed victualer should pay for the other, and declares that there is no evidence that he would benefit by the destruction of his brother. It holds that "by tradition, custom and equity every license holder has an absolute, almost sacred right to the renewal of his license where no misconduct can be imputed." In 1901 there were in England and Wales 101,227 licenses, one to 321 inhabitants. In 1902, 101,034 licenses, one to 326 inhabitants. Ten years ago 3d per barrel was put on the tax, as a compensation fund, bringing in a revenue of half a million, but this is paid over to local authorities in aid of free education, a diversion from its original purpose.

In support of the general principle that the licensed holder is entitled to compensation for the surrender of his license, the following facts are stated:

1. The treasury collects death duties on licensed property at from nineteen to twenty-five years' purchase of the gross estimated rental. In some cases the money was paid only a few weeks before the new owner was called upon to surrender the license.

2. Where the license holder becomes bankrupt it is a matter of practice to turn over his license to his trustee in bankruptcy for the benefit of his creditors.

3. It is a common practice for insurance companies to insure licensees

against the loss of their license, the insurable value of the license being estimated at £1,000 to £5,000, and the rate varying per annum from two shillings and sixpence to three shillings and sixpence for each £100.

4. Banks, public companies, private individuals, as well as trustees of trust funds, lend money on mortgages on licensed houses, the market values of which are calculated on the assumption that the licenses are practically permanent. It will be observed, therefore, that the issue is complicated by the fact that the interests are so large and widespread. It is estimated that the capital invested in brewing and distilling is over two hundred millions sterling. There are probably hundreds of thousands of stockholders in British breweries scattered over the country, so that the number of persons who would be directly affected by any wholesale suppression of licenses would be very large and would belong to all classes of society.

The Royal Commission in its report stated that, "It is generally admitted that the number of licenses in a great many parts of England and Wales is in excess of the requirements. Parliament itself is in a great measure answerable for this. By the act of 1830 an experiment was made in the direction of free trade in beer. This measure was opposed by the official representatives of the trade, who objected to the increased competition that would follow. As a matter of fact, 30,000 beer-houses came into existence on the passing of this act. Parliament, seeing its mistake, passed, in 1869, an act to check the excess in 'on' beer-houses which, by that date, numbered about 50,000; but it deliberately protected the existing houses. Nor can the licensing authorities be held to have been altogether blameless, as in certain districts the grant of more new licenses than were needed caused congestion, which still exists notwithstanding the growth of population. The limitation of licenses in proportion to population was proposed in Mr. Bruce's bill of 1871; but we are not satisfied on the evidence that there is a necessary connection between the proportion of licenses to population and the amount of drunkenness. On the other hand, when an excessive and unnecessary number of licensed houses are crowded together in a limited area, more drinking probably does prevail; and a large reduction is much to be desired, because it would facilitate effective supervision by the police, and would diminish competition and improve the status both of the premises and the licensees."

So serious and vexed are the questions that have been raised in connection with the matter, that the conference of all the interests and of public men is to be held under the presidency of the archbishop of Canterbury, for a full and judicial discussion, in the hope of finding a remedy. At the February and March Brewster sessions, the justices in almost every county took up the question of how to diminish the number of licenses, and it was generally taken for granted that the reduction would be a good thing. In many cases the brewers have themselves selected the houses to be dislicensed rather than to leave it to the justices to pick out, perhaps, a greater number indiscriminately.

In a good many of the British colonies provision is made for compensation. In South Australia, for instance, the amount is determined by arbitration and is usually based on the value of fifteen years' purchase. In Norway,

brandy licenses have been redeemed by giving the holder a life annuity, based on his average profits for three years. Students of this question will find a very full and temperate discussion of it in a volume published under the auspices of the London School of Economics and Political Science, "The Place of Compensation in Temperance Reform," by C. P. Sanger, M. A.

Child Labor in Europe.⁶—A study of the European status of child labor, however superficially made, reveals clearly two things: (1) that no state is without some protection against this great evil, and (2) that no state affords protection even approximately adequate. During the past century and a half each separate country has made its separate laws one at a time, building, supplementing and developing only when forced thereto by industrial necessity. Until the year 1890 there was no thought of harmonious action because nobody realized that the problem of child labor was a world problem with all the inherent difficulties of the other great labor questions in the way of a satisfactory solution. In that year, however, the International Labor Conference was held in Berlin and nations began to learn from one another. That they are very slow in apprehending the lesson is clearly demonstrated by the present divergence in their laws, a divergence that is not justified by difference in industrial conditions, and that causes unsatisfactory results in every country.

At the Berlin conference it was decided to recommend to every state in Europe the passage of the following law as a safeguard against industrial decay: That children of either sex not having reached a certain age must be excluded from factories, the age limit to be fixed at twelve years, except for southern countries, where it be fixed at ten. Bald statistics show the following as the present condition: In Switzerland the age limit is fourteen; France and Germany, thirteen; Hungary, Portugal, Holland, Sweden, Russia, Austria and Belgium, twelve; England, eleven; Denmark and Spain, ten; Italy, nine.

But these statistics, unqualified, give no conception of the true state of affairs. England is, in reality, far from the bottom of the list in matter of protection, and Switzerland's position at the head would not pass unchallenged. And this for many reasons. In the first place the age limit itself is invariable in few cases. In Hungary and Portugal, for example, the limit is fixed at twelve, but may be reduced to ten if the applicant has a medical and educational certificate of fitness, which is not at all hard to obtain. In England, on the other hand, the exception has the contrary effect. The limit is fixed at eleven, but this is raised to thirteen unless a child can show proper certificate of education. In Germany, Denmark, Austria, Norway, Sweden and Russia the tendency is also upward rather than downward from a given standard.

The next difficulty in the way of estimating European conditions from statistics lies in the lack of harmony between child-labor laws and those cognate laws without which the former are ineffective. In Germany, for

⁶Contributed by Edith J. Rich to Committee on Destitute Children, Truancy, Child Labor and Recreation, of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections. By courtesy of Hugh F. Fox, chairman of committee.

instance, child labor is prohibited under the age of thirteen and even then unless the primary education is complete; the system of compulsory education is good, the employer is made liable for all risks, and there are special regulations for the dangerous trades; but the definition of a factory is so indefinite that many important industries escape factory jurisdiction entirely; the system of inspection is so incomplete and the penalties for violation so slight and so seldom enforced that a large and growing number of children are employed. It is said that the Saxon mines are full of children and that in this same province children five and six years old are employed in the "flat-stitch" trade, earning two and one-fourth cents an hour and working from ten to twelve hours a day.

Belgium shows much the same result from another cause. The laws are good and the system of inspection is almost unequaled, but compulsory education is unpopular here and, as is always the case when educational laws do not supplement those prohibiting child labor, by offering a substitute employment for the child, the effect of legislation is negatived. Here both the parent and employer are made liable for a violation of the law and forty-five trades are absolutely forbidden, but it is the custom to grant exemptions and the census of 1896 showed that out of 671,596 laborers, 76,147 were under sixteen years of age. And even these startling figures do not include the workers in the domestic workshops which are the *bête noir* of child-labor reformers.

These domestic workshops are a relic of a dead system in vogue before the rise of factories where labor is concentrated. They remain to-day in almost every country of Europe practically excluded from factory legislation and productive of results truly serious to the cause of reform. The line that divides factories from domestic workshops differs in all cases and is usually so drawn as to exclude from factory jurisdiction large and important industries whose representatives have power enough to influence legislation. This is especially true in Russia and is also notable in Belgium, where the entire clothing industry is beyond the reach of the child-labor laws. In Austria it takes twenty persons to make a factory; in Italy ten persons or the use of mechanical motors; in Germany the inspector is free to define an industry as it suits his purpose; in Switzerland the definition is as follows:

"1. All industrial establishments where more than five persons are employed and use is made of mechanical motors or where persons under eighteen are employed or which present unusual danger to the health or lives of employees.

"2. All industrial establishments employing more than ten persons, whether they present foregoing conditions or not.

"3. All industrial establishments employing less than six persons and presenting unusual danger to health or lives of employees, or those employing less than eleven, but presenting plainly the type of factories."

And yet, in spite of this inclusive definition the domestic workshops of Switzerland, which form a large part of Swiss industrial establishments, continue to employ children unmolested. The reason is not far to seek. Among the leading Swiss industries are watch and clock making, the making of

paper boxes, embroidery, wood-carving, silk and cotton weaving. For centuries these industries have been carried on in the provinces in small establishments seldom employing more than ten or twelve persons. In many cases the parent is the employer and the children the only employees; in others apprenticeship is still in vogue, although that system practically died with the death of the trade guilds. (N. B.—The Swiss federal laws are limited to factories and dangerous trades, the cantons reserving to themselves the right of apprenticeship legislation, which, in some cases, is very extensive.)

In these industries, as in many others, a certain deftness, flexibility and agility are required which can with difficulty be acquired by a person who has not begun the work in early childhood years before the joints and the fingers are stiff and the power to learn mechanically is lost. The conditions necessary to progress in the chosen Swiss industries have, therefore, been an effective barrier to the enforcement of the laws militating against child labor.

These laws, nevertheless, have by no means been void of good. Their presence on the federal statute books has caused deep study of the methods by which they might be obeyed without injuring the industries of the country. The result has been the establishment of great trade training schools, still in their incipency, but offering to the student the largest hope for the future. In Berne, schools are already in active and highly successful operation where a child may learn a given trade while he is receiving his general education. The system employed in these manual training schools must never be confused with the fundamentally opposite system of half-time employment which has proven distinctly unsuccessful in several countries, notably in England. The methods of the Berne schools cannot be discussed in detail in this paper, but they are earnestly recommended to the attention of those interested in the subject. Until such schools are established, however, or until some substitute for them is found which shall at the same time displace the domestic workshops, there should be, in every country attempting to protect its children, inhibitory laws which shall make the employer responsible, according to the laws provided for factories, for all work from which he receives the profit, whether such work be done with or without pay (to include apprentices) and whether it be done on factory premises or at home; and further, making the word factory, as far as child labor is concerned, cover every possible industry in which a child may engage.

In this connection it is interesting to note a French law, also recently adopted in Belgium, which forbids the employment of children under the age of thirteen as actors or at public exhibitions of any kind, and further prohibits those under sixteen from becoming acrobats or professional beggars. (The Belgian law differs from the French in age restriction. In the former country the prohibition extends to all under eighteen unless a parent is the employer, when the age limit is fourteen.)

In the matter of night work and in special regulations against the employment of children in dangerous trades the outlook is more generally hopeful, both in the matter of statutes and of their enforcement. Even in Italy twenty-one trades are absolutely forbidden to children, in Russia twenty-six and in Belgium forty-five. Dangerous trades are of two general kinds, those

in which the employment of children implies danger to the community to risk of fire or accident and those which are dangerous to the worker himself. The latter class is again subdivided into those in which the danger is inherent or direct, as in the white-lead industry, glass-blowing, phosphorus and so forth; and those in which the danger is indirect through length of day, employment under ground and like causes. A notable example of the last class is the mine, child labor in which is prohibited in almost every country in Europe. Each country has its own list of dangerous trades, but they are all alike in general import and a fairly complete list may be found in almost any book on the subject.

It is almost impossible to make a comparison of the European and American status of child labor, because neither stands as a unit, being a composite of conditions in various states. The very fact that such a comparison is impossible, however, offers the most suitable basis for future reform, namely, harmonious action founded on a study of the universal principles that underlie this great question.

What is needed is a universal minimum age limit of fourteen which shall remain invariable and impossible of exemption except for unusual cases; a universally accepted definition of factories which shall include every industry in which it is possible for a child to be at work; a universal system of compulsory education to supplement child-labor laws; better factory inspection; stricter enforcement of penalties and finally the establishment of great trade schools the world over.

Care of Feeble Minded Children in Montana.⁷—The legislative assembly of Montana has made provision for the care and education of feeble-minded children between the ages of six and twenty-one years, by establishing an institution where such persons may be for ten years, or under some circumstances twelve years, provided "That every such person shall be capable, in the judgment of the trustees, of at least some mental, moral or physical training, such as falls within the proper function of a school, as distinct from an asylum." The school is to be located on grounds adjoining the state school for the deaf and blind, established eight years ago, and will be directly under the control of the same executive board, and the same superintendent, but with a separate corps of teachers. The state board of education has general supervision of both institutions. An appropriation of \$30,000 was made for the immediate erection of a building. These unfortunate children have heretofore been kept at the state asylum for the insane, where there was no provision for their proper care or training.

The Laboratory in Sociology at Atlanta University.—There is some ground for suspicion when a small institution of learning offers courses in sociology. Very often such work means simply prolonged discussions of society and social units, which degenerate into bad metaphysics and false psychology, or it may take a statistical turn and the student become so immersed in mere figures as to forget, or be entirely unacquainted with, the concrete facts standing back of the counting.

⁷ Contributed by H. H. Swain, president Montana State Normal College, Dillon.

On the other hand every one feels how necessary social study is,—how widespread in modern times is our ignorance of social facts and processes. In such matters we still linger in a Middle Age of credulity and superstition. We print in the opening chapters of our children's histories theories of the origin and destiny of races over which the gravest of us must smile; we assume, for instance, elaborate theories of an "Aryan" type of political institution, and then discover in the pitso of the South African Basutos as perfect an agora or tungemot as ever existed among Greeks or Germans. At the same time all of us feel the rhythm in human action; we are sure that the element of chance is at least not supreme, and no generation has taken to the study of social phenomena more energetically or successfully than ours. Have we, however, accomplished enough or settled the matter of scope and method sufficiently to introduce the subject of sociology successfully into the small college or the high school?

I am not sure that our experience at Atlanta University contributes much toward answering this question, for our position is somewhat exceptional, and yet I think it throws light on it. Atlanta University is situated within a few miles of the geographical centre of the negro population of the nation, and is, therefore, near the centre of that congeries of human problems which cluster round the black American. This institution, which forms in itself a "negro problem," and which prepares students whose lives must of necessity be further factors in this same problem, cannot logically escape the study and teaching of some things connected with that mass of social questions. Nor can these things all be reduced to history and ethics—the mass of them fall logically under sociology.

We have arranged, therefore, what amounts to about two years of sociological work for the junior and senior college students, and we carry on in our conferences postgraduate work in original research. The undergraduate courses in sociology are simply an attempt to study systematically conditions of living right around the university and to compare these conditions with conditions elsewhere about which we are able to learn. For this purpose one of the two years is taken up principally with a course in economics. Here the methods of study are largely inductive, going from field work and personal knowledge to the establishment of the main principles. There is no text-book, but a class-room reference library with from five to ten duplicate copies of well-known works.

In the next year the study comes nearer what is understood by sociology. Here again, after much experiment, we have discarded the text-book, not because a book of a certain sort would not be valuable in the hands of students, but rather because available text-books are distinctly and glaringly unsuitable. The book most constantly referred to is Mayo-Smith's "Statistics and Sociology," and after that the United States censuses. Our main object in this year of work is to find out what characteristics of human life can be known, classified and compared. Students are expected to know what the average death-rate of American negroes is, how it varies, and what it means when compared with the death-rates of other peoples and classes. When they learn by search in the census and their own mathematical calculations that 30 per

cent of the negroes of New York City are twenty to thirty years of age, they immediately set to work to explain this anomaly, and so on. A large part of their work consists of special reports, in which the results of first-hand study of some locality or some characteristic of negro life are compared with general conditions in the United States and Europe. Thus in a way we measure the negro problem.

Sometimes these studies are of real scientific value: the class of '99 furnished local studies, which, after some rearrangement, were published in No. 22 of the Bulletin of the United States Department of Labor; the work of another class was used in a series of articles on the housing of the negro in the *Southern Workman*, and a great deal of the work of other classes has been used in the reports of the Atlanta Conferences. Our main object in the undergraduate work, however, is human training and not the collection of material, and in this we have been fairly successful. The classes are enthusiastic and of average intelligence, and the knowledge of life and of the meaning of life in the modern world is certainly much greater among these students than it would be without such a course of study.

Our postgraduate work in sociology was inaugurated with the thought that a university is primarily a seat of learning, and that Atlanta University, being in the midst of the negro problems, ought to become a centre of such a systematic and thoroughgoing study of those problems as would gradually raise many of the questions above the realm of opinion and guess into that of scientific knowledge. It goes without saying that our ideals in this respect are far from being realized. Although our researches have cost less than \$500 a year, yet we find it difficult and sometimes impossible to raise that meagre sum. We lack proper appliances for statistical work and proper clerical aid; notwithstanding this, something has been done. The plan of work is this: a subject is chosen; it is always a definite, limited subject covering some phase of the general negro problem; schedules are then prepared, and these with letters are sent to the voluntary correspondents, mostly graduates of this and other negro institutions of higher training. They, by means of local inquiry, fill out and return the schedules; then other sources of information, depending on the question under discussion, are tried, until after six or eight months' work a body of material is gathered. Then a local meeting is held, at which speakers, who are specially acquainted with the subject studied, discuss it. Finally, about a year after the beginning of the study, a printed report is issued, with full results of the study, digested and tabulated and enlarged by the addition of historical and other material. In this way the following reports have been issued:

No. 1.—Mortality among Negroes in Cities. 51 pp. 1896. (Out of print.)

No. 2.—Social and Physical Conditions of Negroes in Cities. 86 pp. 1897. 50 cents.

No. 3.—Some Efforts of Negroes for Social Betterment. 66 pp. 1898. 50 cents.

No. 4.—The Negro in Business. 78 pp. 1899. 50 cents.

No. 5.—The College-Bred Negro. 115 pp. 1900. (Out of print.) The College-Bred Negro. Second edition, abridged. 32 pp. 25 cents.

No. 6.—The Negro Common School. 118 pp. 1901. 25 cents.

No. 7.—The Negro Artisan. 200 pp. 1902. 50 cents.

No. 8.—The Negro Church. (To be published in 1903.)

Of the effect of this sociological work it is difficult for us who are largely responsible for it to judge. Certain it is that there is a call for scientific study of the American negro, and it is also clear that no agency is doing anything in this line except Atlanta University, the United States Census Bureau and the United States Department of Labor. In general our reports have been well received, both in this country and in England, and their material has been widely used. In fact they have not received as much criticism as they deserved, which is perhaps one discouraging feature.

Upon the school, the community and the negro race, the emphasis put on this sort of study has undoubtedly exerted a wholesome influence. It has directed thought and discussion into definite and many times unnoticed channels; it has led to various efforts at social betterment, such as the formation of the National Negro Business League, and it has stimulated healthy self-criticism based on accurate knowledge.⁸

Some Statistics of Child Labor furnished by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company of New York, one of the three great industrial insurance concerns which practically divide this field of business in the United States, are presented in a recent issue of *Charities*. Last fall, applications gathered from thirty states and the District of Columbia during, roughly, the preceding year, were gone over, aggregating 1,500,000 persons, a total in itself of no mean statistical value. Ninety-five per cent of these applications were from places of 25,000 and over, and they represent a cross section of the working population. Data bearing on the 185,560 applicants between the ages of ten and sixteen, inclusive, were classified as to age, sex, color and occupation, affording some interesting comparisons and correlations with returns from the twelfth census and the reports of the commissioner of education as to employment, illiteracy and school attendance.

The unique fact in these insurance statistics is the apparent truthfulness of the individual items. Whether a child works or not has no influence on the issuance of the policy; whether the truth is told in the application may affect payment in case of death.

Out of 8,168,172 children from ten to fifteen years enumerated in the twelfth census in these states, 144,646, or 1.8 per cent were employed in manufacturing industries. Of 163,176 insurance applicants of these ages, 16,627, or 10.19 per cent were employed. While it would be going too far to apply this increased per cent to the general population in an estimate of the extent of child labor, examination of figures for New York and the District of Columbia, together with such populous states as Rhode Island and Massachusetts, would seem to show that it is more accurate for the cities than the per cent given in the census. Applying it therefore to the urban population of the same ages, an estimate of 274,458 boy and girl wage-earners between the ages of ten and fifteen, inclusive, is obtained. This estimate is very nearly twice the census figure for these states at large.

⁸ Contributed by W. E. Burghardt DuBois, Ph.D.

A more specific value attaching to the statistics is their relation to school attendance. The reports of the national commissioner of education show that of the total number of students attending school, 94.36 per cent are in the elementary grades, only 4.25 per cent in the secondary, and a mere 1.39 per cent in the higher. Philanthropic workers urge that while millions are lavished on colleges and universities, here,—at the close of the grammar grades,—is a leakage of child talent demanding the most serious study and offering a strategic opportunity for social investment. The obverse of this fact is found, concretely expressed, in these insurance figures, showing, as they do, definitely the steadily increasing proportion of children employed, from year to year. For example, in New York City, the percentage of public school attendance at the specified ages and the percentages of employed among applicants for insurance, dovetail into each other as follows:

AGE.	Per Cent Public School Attendance	Per Cent Employed,
10	85.34	0.39
11	85.46	0.41
12	81.89	0.67
13	71.88	4.25
14	41.93	13.31
15	18.92	40.12
16	8.16	63.60

A comparison of these age classifications by states bears direct evidence on the influence of child-labor legislation. In Massachusetts, for instance, the per cent employed remains insignificant, manufacturing state though it is, until the age limit for employment is reached, when, at fourteen, it rises sharply. In Georgia, by way of contrast, the per cent employed at ten is equal to that at fourteen in Massachusetts, and it is not until the sixteenth year that the per cents for these two states approach each other. Out of 813 child applicants of the mill towns of Alabama under fourteen years of age, 266 or nearly one-third were workers, one-half of those at fourteen were employed, and three-quarters of those at fifteen.

As a final contribution these statistics show what lines of occupation are taken up, and are suggestive of what, if any, recompense is made the child workers as a whole in the way of training.⁹

⁹ Contributed by Dr. E. T. Devine, New York City.